UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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Stephen S. Wise
By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The Chittagong Riots
By REGINALD A. REYNOLDS

The Realism of Resentment
By ROBERT WHITAKER

My Visit to Tolstoy
By JOSEPH LEE

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Denial of Tom Mooney Petition

"Governor Rolph's denial of Tom Mooney's petition for a pardon closes only one round in a long fight," said Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, last night (April 22). "Like his predecessors, Governor Rolph passed the buck to conservative, anti-labor advisers, without courageously facing the decision himself. While nothing more can be expected of this governor, our lawyers are not hopeless of a further move to reopen the case in the courts.

"We had been led to expect at least a commutation, which would not have put Governor Rolph on record as to Mooney's guilt or innocence. Many circumstances indicated that Governor Rolph was personally favorable. But apparently political obstacles overcame whatever inclination he had, and the governor is first of all a politician.

"These obstacles are what they have always been—the unyielding opposition of the utility corporations to Mooney's freedom on any terms. One of their spokesmen recently reflected their views when he said, 'We've got the right men on the wrong evidence.' Nothing remains of the original case but the testimony of two discredited witnesses. The governor's decision is a tribute not to justice, but to the power of organized money in politics.

"The Civil Liberties Union, through the National Mooney-Billings Committee, which it created two years ago to fight for the release of both prisoners, will redouble its efforts. Aaron Sapiro, former California lawyer now of New York, has volunteered his services to stay in the case until both men are free. Announcement of whatever legal steps will be taken will be forthcoming from him and our other cooperating attorneys."

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

Those Denied

Never in the history of the Mooney case has there been such a volume of protests against his imprisonment and demands for his unconditional pardon. From all over the United States, Canada and Europe, a deluge of letters, telegrams, resolutions, reports of mass meetings and press clippings poured into the office of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee. Activities on behalf of Tom Mooney have been carried on, and demands on Governor James Rolph, Jr., for Mooney's pardon have been made by labor organizations, representing millions of workers, by Senators, Congressmen, Mayors and Governors, by lawyers, clergymen, judges, professors, scientists, artists, actors, philosophers, authors—men and women prominent in all walks of life.

In a report received from the Artists' and Writers' Committee for Tom Mooney, headed by Lucia Trent

(*Continued on page* 143)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CIX MONDAY, MAY 2, 1932 Number 9

Hymn

(Dedicated to Rabbi Wise and the Free Synagogue of New York on their Twenty-fifth Anniversary, April 17, 1932)

1.
The flames of Sinai clothe no more
The presence of the Lord;
The desert winds no echoes bear
Of Moses' thund'rous word;
Yet still in wildernesses far
Moves Israel's chosen band,
Resolv'd through want and waste and woe
To find the Promised Land.

2.
Dust unto dust, Hosea's bones
Lie deep in Zion's sod;
The ashes of the centuries hide
The stones Isaiah trod;
Yet still on Israel's altars burn
The fires of prophecy,
And lips with living coals are touched
The doom of sin to cry.

3.
O God of Israel, not in vain
Thy sons proclaimed thy law;
The witness born on Judah's hills
Holds still a world in awe;
And lo, today, in this far land,
In him, thy servant true,
In these thy people, strong and free,
Thy spirit lives anew.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The famous quarrel between Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft seems now on the verge of being duplicated by what well may be an equally famous quarrel between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Alfred E. Smith. It is interesting to note that Roosevelts appear in both these ugly feuds between old friends, but that their roles are curiously reversed. In the first fight, Roosevelt ("Teddy") was the strong man, and his opponent, the weakling. In this second fight, apparently now upon us, Roosevelt ("Frank") is decidedly the weakling, and Smith the man of energy and power. As Theodore forced the fighting yesterday, so "Al" is doing today. And for anybody who remembers Taft's furious loss of temper, his raging and roaring against all and sundry who stood in his way, it is easy to understand Franklin Roosevelt's recent outbursts of petty and futile anger. The New York Governor also matches his predecessor in his evasion of issues, his lack of ideas, his general muddleheadedness. Taft never had any convictions which he understood and only now and then any policies. In utter amiability he allowed the worst elements of his party to run away with his administration, just as the present-day Roosevelt is allowing Tammany to rule his roost. It is inevitable, of course, that strong men of the Smith and Theodore Roosevelt type should be disgusted and outraged by spectacles of this kind. "Teddy," whatever his faults, stood for clear-cut principles, with forceful speech and decisive action. The same is true of Smith! Whether the latter will get anywhere with his quarrel is doubtful. The history of 1912 might well make him pause, for it was Theodore Roosevelt's break with Taft, of course, that led to the election of Woodrow Wilson. Is it not likely that the present break between Governor and ex-Governor will achieve the miracle of returning Herbert Hoover to the White House?

If Congress paid heed to all the protests against taxation which are now flooding the halls of the Capitol, there would not only be no balancing the budget, but no tax bill at all. For nobody seems willing to pay any taxes. A levy against the other fellow may be all right, but not against oneself. Thus, in New York the other day there was a tremendous rally of the theatrical folk against the tax on theatre tickets. The stock brokers, perfectly complacent over a 2¼ per cent general sales tax, are threatening to move the Stock Exchange to Canada if a ¼ per cent tax is imposed on tax sales. The automobile manufacturers are besieging Washington like an army in attack upon the automobile levies. And of course, the rich, or near-rich, are all up in arms against the increased income tax rates. In all this riotous hullabaloo of protest, we have heard of only one man—Mr. Abraham Epstein, the well-known social reformer of New York

—who thinks his tax is not excessive and unjust. Mr. Epstein opines that he pays none too much for what he gets. However this may be, one thing is certain, and that is, if the government is to be supported, somebody must pay. Of course, there is no reason why the government should be so extravagantly supported as it is at present. The high cost of administration in city, state and nation is one of the scandals of this age, and, if not corrected, may well wreck us all. But when expenses are reduced to a minimum, there still remain the millions of dollars which somebody must pay. To our simple mind, the taxation problem is easy. Its first and basic solution is the income tax—each citizen paying to the government a stated proportion of the money he receives, the proportion increasing with the increase of income. Then should come taxes on articles of commerce which nobody is obliged to buy—luxury taxes on jewelry, cosmetics, tobacco, candy, chewing-gum, soft drinks, theatres, movies, etc. Then taxes on articles, or transactions, which only those who have considerable money employ—bank checks, telegrams, stock sales, etc. Last of all, to be avoided if possible, taxes on life's necessities, such as food. This is a simple program. Follow it!

Are the newspapers in this country just plain ignorant of foreign affairs, or do they deliberately try to deceive and thus mislead their readers? Answer this question, if you can, in the light of the press reports and interpretations of the late presidential campaign in Germany! In contradiction of the universal newspaper opinion in America, UNITY printed two editorials to state its conviction that the outcome of this campaign was a triumph for Hitler and the National Socialists. Hindenburg won, as of course everybody knew he would, but under conditions which were Phyrric in their significance. Now despatches from Germany are coming in, and we are getting facts which abundantly justify UNITY'S position. So important is the truth on this point that we publish here an extended excerpt from a Berlin letter in the New York *Herald-Tribune* from its special correspondent, John Elliott:

> Well, Hitler has been defeated, but his movement is still growing. Instead of Hitler's loss of the first election on March 13 to Hindenburg by 7,500,000 majority chilling the hopes of his followers, it apparently has only stimulated them to still greater efforts. Despite the unfair handicap of being denied the use of the radio, and the fact that the government decreed an Easter truce forced them to abstain from their whirlwind propaganda, the Nazis in the short space of four weeks increased their poll by 2,100,000 votes.
>
> Today the National Socialist party is incomparably the greatest in Germany, and its more enthusiastic members claim that it is the greatest political organization the world ever has seen. The party that Hitler, then a wounded veteran, took over as a group of six men meeting in a back room in a Munich beer cellar in 1919, has, since 1928, gone on from success to success in point of raising its poll.
>
> In the Reichstag election of 1928 the movement reached its nadir, polling only 806,846 votes. But in the Reichstag elections of September, 1930, the National Socialist party electrified the world by obtaining 6,401,210 votes, and won a place in the sun as a political force to be reckoned with in German politics.
>
> Its next opportunity to display its strength as a national party came in the Presidential election of March 13, when Hitler polled 11,341,360 votes. On April 10 he astonished the German politicians by increasing this to 13,417,460, while Hindenburg in the same period could only raise his poll by 700,000. The Nazi party today is more than twice as strong as it was in the autumn of 1930.
>
> Hindenburg, in truth, is the only man who could have stopped Adolf Hitler from being elected chief executive, and it required the biggest coalition ever known to German politics, ranging from Left Wing Socialists to dyed-in-the-wool Monarchists and Junkers, to do it.

The Prussian elections, which will take place a week before this editorial can appear, will show conclusively what is happening. It may be that the exciting presidential campaign marked the high-tide of Hitlerism—a failure to carry the Prussian Diet will prove that the recession has set in. But if the Nationalists win in Prussia, or even come within sight of winning, then we must set ourselves to the inevitable. Hitler's capture of Germany, with all its appalling possibilities, will be at hand. What then? *What then!*

Figures don't lie! Don't they? What about the figures of the Treasury Department on the yield of the Tax Bill? Does anybody really believe that the Department was really trying to state what the Bill of the rebellious House would produce in the way of income? *Pictures tell the story!* Do they? Read Sherwood Eddy's story of the Japanese in Manchuria and their claim that their railroads were being raided and destroyed by Chinese troops! There was not the slightest evidence of trouble, says Dr. Eddy. Not a train missed its schedule. But there were photographs in which rails had been carefully removed and bodies in Chinese uniforms artistically distributed about the landscape. *Seeing is believing!* Is it? Then why do the witnesses of the same event, the visitors to the same country, bring back such contradictory reports? Much truer is it, to my mind, that believing is seeing. In any case, what must always be taken account of in every situation is the human factor. Men, by the very genius of their nature, are inventors, creators. Their eyes are not mere photographic plates receiving unaltered a passing image. Their minds are never mere plane surfaces upon which are stamped impressions of the environment. On the contrary, there is always a living entity within or behind, which contributes its color to the scene. There is a soul, entangled in a complex of emotions, prejudices, preconceptions, motives, which molds the material of the outer world as the sculptor molds his clay. This is the final justification of the subjective philosophy—that man makes his world, as God his universe! Hence the importance of never forgetting that, in every statistical table, every picture, all testimony, there is an inner spirit at work which, consciously or unconsciously, is seeking not so much to find the truth as to establish its own purposes. May this not also be the reality of

the cosmos? If we would know the universe, must we not isolate its active spirit, and find the aim or end which in all things it is subserving?

In times like these, it is a relief to have some things which it is not necessary to take seriously. The "wet" campaign, for example! If Asia were not in flames, if Europe were not slipping into the abyss of ruin, if Britain were not tumbling from her high imperial estate, if America were not struggling with the worst economic disaster in her history, we might be able to feel otherwise than mildly amused at all this hullabaloo against the 18th Amendment. But—imagine having nothing better to do in this present hour than to "set up" the drinks! Think of seeking comfort in the determination not to thirst, even though we may have to starve! As a matter of fact, with the "wets" so crazy to get into the wine-cellar, even though the house be burning over their heads, we could almost wish to see them smash the Prohibition laws and take over the control of the liquor traffic themselves. Then, indeed, we would have some fun. For liquor has never anywhere at any time been decent or law-abiding. It has always bred anarchy, crime, poverty, death, just as it is breeding them today in the refusal of great numbers of our citizens to practice Prohibition, or allow other people to practice it. The virtue of Prohibition is not that it annihilates the trade. This trade has never been annihilated under any system, and never will be until men are civilized. But Prohibition refuses to recognize or compromise with the evil, and establishes a larger measure of control and decency than any other system ever tried. We would find this out quickly enough if we repealed the 18th Amendment. O, those wonderful old days when a saloon blossomed on every corner and a drunk wallowed in every gutter! Of course, the "wets" say these days wouldn't return. O, wouldn't they? Just for the fun of the thing, we would like to see the "wets" in the saddle, and riding like mad to their own discomfiture and defeat. It may well be that we have got to have one more era of drunkenness, as in Canada at this moment, before Prohibition will come to stay.

Stephen S. Wise

On April 17th last, at a public religious service in Carnegie Hall, was celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the ministry of Stephen S. Wise and his founding of the Free Synagogue in New York City. In the fall, it is planned to have further celebration of this event at a great dinner, or meeting, yet to be arranged. This is altogether fitting, for Rabbi Wise's ministry is the most notable of the last quarter of a century in America, and one of the memorable ministries of all time.

I

Dr. Wise is a figure which, once seen, is never forgotten. His huge body, stooping and a bit ungainly in moments of repose, rises in moments of nervous excitement and spiritual exaltation, like a lifted column, to heights of magnificent proportion; his leonine head, with its great mane of black, now graying, hair, and its mobile face set suddenly like granite to the heroice resolve of some supreme conviction of the soul; his voice, unsurpassed in our time for richness of tone and range of melody, rolling through far spaces like the full-throated organ; these are qualities of personal power which combine with inner sources of sincerity and vision to make this rabbi incomparably the greatest orator of our generation. To see, or rather to feel, him in the full tide of action is by turns to be beaten upon as by the waves of the sea and lifted up as on the wings of air. His utterance is like some natural force let loose upon the world. Least effective in lighter moments and in smaller assembling places, he rises in stature and expands in power as he matches his strength with some tremendous theme before some vast audience. For this man is not a pond or lake, but an ocean which needs far shores to sustain its sweep. When Wise throws himself into torrential denunciation of some crying wrong, he smites as though with hurricanes of wrath. Yet in quieter moments of contemplation, as when the sea is calm, he touches great deeps of understanding and compassion. This man is indeed an organ, an instrument, upon which the spirit plays through all the ranges of thunder and of song.

It is inevitable that so dominant a personality, so potent an orator, should fall victim to the charge which has been leveled at every great prophet from Elijah to Theodore Parker. This is the charge that he is an actor—or, as his Excellency, the Governor of New York, has recently asserted—a "publicity seeker," saying and doing things for their personal effect. Such indictment is due partly to the fact that overwhelming powers of utterance, especially when bravely used, inescapably attract attention to themselves. It is due more to that meanness of soul in the observer which can understand no motive for any action save self-seeking and self-display. In answer to the charge, I return to that word, "instrument," which is the one word adequate to describe what Rabbi Wise really is in his platform and pulpit utterances. Edwin Markham, in one of his poems, speaks of "star-eyed Truth" who goes "to meet the centuries,"

And, hurrying, snatches up some human reed,
Blows through it once her terror-bearing note,
And breaks and throws away. It is enough
If we can be a bugle at her lips,
To scatter her contagion on mankind.

This is Wise, exactly! I have known the Rabbi for many years, I have seen him in all relations, public and private, I have studied him as a disciple might study a master, and it is my testimony that I have never known a man more simple, more sincere, more self-forgetting, more utterly the instrument, the "bugle," of the truth which he would serve. If he were in any sense an actor, he would be more artistic, polished, elegant in mien and manner. As it is, with utter abandon, he lets himself go before the driving impulse of every inner storm. If he has a fault, it is that he does not think of himself at all, but recklessly casts his life into every surging torrent of spiritual passion. The result is the greatest oratory and the noblest prophecy our age has known.

II

If ever there was question of this man's purpose, it was answered early in his career, and for all time, by the circumstances of his return to New York from his distinguished ministry in Oregon a quarter of a century ago. Already the outstanding rabbi of his generation—a scholar, an orator, a tried and tested public leader—he might have come back to this city like a young victor returning from the wars to receive his triumph. He had opportunity to establish himself in New York under the most potent auspices, and thus for the remainder of his life to play his part on the most gorgeous stage in American Jewry. With what unctuous tones he might have spoken his part, with what graceful gestures adorned his pose—the petted and pampered darling of the rich, and the apologist of all their pride. This smooth and easy path lay straight before his feet. For such processional panoply as he would have brought to the pomp of this parade, no price could have been too high. But as independent of these modern kings of Jewry as Isaiah of Ahaz, he turned aside and went his way alone.

If there is any braver act in contemporary religious annals than that of Rabbi Wise coming to New York to establish the Free Synagogue in 1907, I do not chance to know what it is. That he came equipped with powers of physical strength, mental integrity, and moral passion denied to all but the greatest men, does not qualify in any degree the sheer courage of his deed. It must be remembered that in those youthful days he had no such fame and influence as he enjoys in this hour of his glorious maturity—that he had no "angels" to reach down from Mammon's heaven the wherewithal to sustain his cause—that New York was the same frowning fortress of cynicism and corruption, graft and greed, that she remains today. His trust was in himself, in the common people in whom he believed with a Lincoln-like fervor, and in the God of Israel who had inspired the prophets of the older time. That this trust was justified is proved by the record of this first quarter of a century, now so fitly celebrated. The Free Synagogue is today an institution which belongs not merely to New York, nor yet to America, but to the world; it serves not Jews only, but humanity. Through all these years gone by, the Synagogue has spoken with a voice such as the nation has not heard since Theodore Parker preached in Boston, curiously enough in the famous Music Hall, a vast place of public assembly exactly corresponding to Carnegie Hall in New York. It has penetrated, through its social work, into every hidden area of civic want and misery, and, with the cry for justice, brought relief to those too weak to wait the better day. It has planted deep its influences of education, now brought to flower and fruitage in the Jewish Institute of Religion. And into every struggle, near and far, for men's larger liberty, into every uprising of the expatriated and exploited against oppression, into every battle of the persecuted Jew, the outlawed Negro, the enslaved worker, the dumb millions of the forsaken, forgotten and forlorn among mankind, it has flung the ample resources of its life. The Free Synagogue is a synagogue—no man more faithful to Zion than its Rabbi! But it is also more than a synagogue—a fellowship of men and women, Jew and Gentile alike, who recognize their kinship with the race and acclaim the day of brotherhood.

III

It is this wider, more inclusive character of the Free Synagogue which reveals what its founder and teacher has been achieving through the years. His work is of a two-fold nature.

At bottom, and in essence, it is the redemption of his people, Israel. For years, indeed for centuries, this task of redemption was physical—the actual liberation of the Jews from the Ghetto walls, behind which in cruel persecution they had been thrust. With the breaking down of these barriers, and the beginning of the long and still unfinished fight for all the rights of man for Jacob's sons, there came the second and higher task of redemption which is not physical, or legal, or social, but wholly spiritual. That the Jew should be inwardly as well as outwardly free—free on the one hand from the binding traditions of the past, the literalism of the letter and the law, and on the other hand from the demoralizing temptations of the present, the worldliness of a civilization which perishes in its pursuit of power, pride and pelf! The peril of the emancipated Jew in America at this hour is, first, the peril of his own peculiar inheritance as hardened beneath the pressure of his persecution, and, secondly, the peril of that encompassing environment which besets us all, Jew and Gentile together, with the snares and pitfalls of materialism.

To the redemption of Israel from the conservatism of its race inheritance and the corruption of its world

environment, the Rabbi of the Free Synagogue has been setting himself through all these years. He would have the Jew a *Jew,* but a free Jew—free to manifest the best in himself and the highest in his faith. To accomplish this, even to suggest and struggle for it, has been no easy nor pleasant task. It has involved misunderstanding, danger, hostility; it has cost patience and measureless courage. But, like a later Elijah, Wise has faced his foes and fought his fight unflinchingly.

"Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" asked the king, Ahab, when he saw the prophet.

"And he answered, I have not troubled Israel, but thou, and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and hast followed Baalim."

A second and even nobler work attaches to the story of the Free Synagogue and its Rabbi. It is the work which reaches beyond the tribe of Israel to the whole circle of that humanity which encompasses it about, just as the word of the prophets passed beyond Jerusalem and became a witness to all the nations of the earth. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, these are far more today than the leaders of a single and rather obscure historic people in the great struggle for truth and right. As Plato has become a radiating center of illumination for the minds of all men everywhere, so these prophets, speaking a provincial tongue, addressing a primitive people, dealing specifically with local and temporal issues, have become the conscience of the race. Through the sheer force of moral passion, what we may call the gravitational influence of transcendent spiritual idealism, these inspired teachers have held mankind to the orbit of the law. They have thus become world figures—the ethical dynamic of our whole civilization. It is no accident that it is in the words of Micah we find the universal definition of religion.

It is in this larger range of influence and leadership that the Free Synagogue has been conspicuous among the religious institutions of America. True to the traditions of the prophets, sharing the impulsion of their spirit and the lift of their ideals, its Rabbi has moved beyond the confines of his people's life, and become everywhere a force for righteousness. For the needs of Israel, after all, are but in a deeper and darker sense the needs of the oppressed of all humanity, and the challenge of their release the challenge of a similar release for all the downtrodden and enslaved! When Rabbi Wise speaks, he speaks for the race; and when he strikes, it is straight and sure at the chains of universal bondage. It is for this reason that Wise's associates have been quite as much without the synagogue as within, and his labors quite as freely devoted to non-Jews as to Jews. And it is for this same reason, also, that the forsaken and forgotten everywhere, Gentiles quite as well as Jews, look up to him to liberate and lead them out of their distresses. Wise is greater than his origins, and potent beyond the confines of his household. The greatest rabbi of his time, and one of the greatest of all times, he is still essentially more than a rabbi—he is the servant of mankind. What wonder, therefore, that he has reared an altar which is a refuge for human need!

IV

It is good to see such a man as Rabbi Wise pass the twenty-fifth milestone of his memorable ministry in New York with eye undimmed and strength unabated. As a preacher of religion, a champion of civic righteousness, a prophet of peace and brotherhood, a pastor of souls, he stands today in the full flush of his heroic manhood, the supreme moral figure of his age. If the age is not worthy of him, it is only as Jerusalem of old was unworthy of Jeremiah. As he moves on with undaunted courage and unquenchable faith into the uncertain years that lie ahead, he may himself be serene and sure within his soul. For, like Theodore Parker, "the great American preacher," Stephen Wise, the great American preacher of this, our day, has offered up, as the passion of his life, these words of prayer, so amply fulfiled in the dedication of his spirit—

Give me, Lord, eyes to behold the truth,
A seeing sense that knows the eternal right;
A heart with pity filled, and gentlest ruth;
A manly faith that makes all darkness light.
Give me the power to labor for mankind,
Make me the mouth of such as cannot speak;
Eyes let me be to groping men and blind;
A conscience to the base, and to the weak
Let me be hands and feet, and to the foolish, mind;
And lead still further on such as thy kingdom seek.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Jottings

President Whitney declares that, if the proposed tax on stock sales goes through, the New York Stock Exchange may close. At last! A way to close the Stock Exchange!! Clap on the tax, as big as possible, and as soon as possible!!!

The irreparable damaging of the wheat crop in the South means big things for the agricultural market. It is anticipated that this season's crop will be 236,000,000 bushels less than that of last season—and the farmers see a little prosperity for the first time in years. And this is the kind of social system in which sane men are content to live!

We imagine that there may be more foolish and futile things in the world than Professor McKee's discovery of a method of manufacturing cheap synthetic diamonds, but we confess than we cannot think of what they are.

Reports recently received from the field by the Democratic National Committee indicate that the next presidential nominee will carry every state in the Union except Maine and Vermont (see New York *Times*, April 14th). It is confidently anticipated that later reports will show that Mars, Jupiter, Neptune, Uranus, the Moon, the Dipper, and the Milky Way will also be carried by the Democrats.

The bark of a dog was relayed around the world by radio the other day in one-eighth of a second. Isn't science *wonderful!*

DEFINITIONS: (11) *Free Speech*—A privilege enjoyed by ourselves and denied to others.

J. H. H.

The Chittagong Riots

[From Our Special Correspondent]

The name of Chittagong in Bengal has been periodically before the British public ever since the raid on the Chittagong Armory by Indian Terrorists in April, 1930.

In July of the same year there began the trial (by a Special Tribunal Sitting at Chittagong) of 56 persons accused in the Armory Raid Case, including 23 absconders who were tried in their absence. Ever since the raid Chittagong appears to have been the scene of frequent skirmishes between the police and the revolutionary organization that carried out the raid. Indians have been systematically disarmed and Europeans allowed to carry arms for protection.

The Armory Raid Case is now at an end. All but sixteen were convicted. The sixteen who were acquitted were immediately re-arrested under the Bengal Ordinance, which empowers the authorities to detain them indefinitely without any stated cause.

Sensational as this case and its conclusion were, they have both been overshadowed in importance by the Chittagong Riots of August, 1931. These have been freely termed "Hindu-Moslem Riots" not only by the Government and the ordinary ill-informed journalist, but even by writers and papers of some repute, in apparent ignorance that there is even another version to be considered. The purpose of this article is to trace the known facts in connection with the riots in their chronological order, and to see how far any ground for the accepted version can be discovered. I wish particularly to draw attention also to the part played by the press throughout the period under consideration.

On August 1, 1931, the Calcutta *Statesman* (A British-owned daily) quoted European "Royalist" views favoring *"a vigorous policy of reprisal and summary vengeance"* (against Indian Terrorists) and endorsed the view that terrorism must be driven out by terror. Similar propaganda was carried on for some time in this manner, the *Statesman* publishing a black list of offending nationalist journals including the *Panchajanya* of Chittagong, which will be mentioned later in this article.

In spite, however, of threats from Indian Terrorists on the one hand and European "Royalists" on the other, there appeared reason to believe that the Government had full control of the situation. Mr. W. D. R. Prentice of the Bengal Government (Political Department) in presenting his demand for a supplementary grant for the police, referred to the precautions that had been taken to ensure safety in Chittagong (Bengal Legislative Council debates, August 3, 1931). This is important in view of the intensity and long duration of the riots only a month later, and the fact that they eventually came to an end *without firing by the police*—a "necessity" to which they have so often been driven by much smaller disturbances.

On August 30 the Police Inspector of Chittagong (a Moslem) was murdered. The alleged "Hindu-Moslem Riots" took place during the night after this event and on the following day. On September 1 the *Statesman* published the news as *"Communal Rioting at Chittagong,"* emphasizing the fact that the murdered man was a Mohammedan and his assailant a Hindu. The day after the *Statesman* announced the restoration of order by the police after damage had been done worth a crore of rupees (about £750,000).

On September 3 a public meeting was held in the Albert Hall, Calcutta, and a committee of well-known Indians (including the editor of a Moslem paper) was appointed to enquire into the disburbances at Chittagong. Four days later this Non-Official Committee arrived at Chittagong and proceeded:

1. To visit the scenes of disturbance.
2. To take evidence from eye-witnesses and sufferers.
3. To take photographs of scenes of destruction.

The authorities refused all assistance, but shortly after this an official enquiry was ordered by the Government. The Non-Official Enquiry Committee protested against the Government enquiry being conducted by the Divisional Commissioner—"one of the persons whose conduct required, and requires, investigation."

The enquiry by the Non-Official Committee terminated on September 3. Its main conclusions (unanimous) were:

1. *Disturbances were caused by British officials and non-officials with Mohammedan police.*
2. *Looting was carried on at police instigation and with their protection.*
3. *The motive was to terrorize people, especially Hindus.*

The committee in its report cited a considerable number of witnesses, both Hindu and Moslem. They claimed that *there was no evidence of strife between the Hindu and Moslem communities, in spite of efforts to create such strife.* They said that attacks were principally directed against those who had incurred official displeasure, including lawyers engaged in the defense of persons accused in the Armory Raid Case.

Instances of alleged outrages cited include:

A. Raid by "Europeans"* armed with revolvers on *Panchajanya* Press (the Nationalist newspaper mentioned above). The press was broken up with large hammers. Names of some of the alleged raiders are given in the report.

*For some reason this euphemism is normally employed in India for the British.

B. Beating to death of an old man, the father of a political "suspect."

C. Brutal assault on a woman by three Gurkhas (foreign mercenaries employed by the Government).

D. Flogging of the biggest boys in two schools by police under British officers. The boys selected were said to be those who wore Gandhi caps.

By this time the Chittagong disturbance, though dismissed as a "Communal Riot" by the English papers both in India and the British Isles, had assumed grave political importance in Bengal among Indians and thoughtful Englishmen. A pamphlet on Chittagong was prepared by Christopher Ackroyd, Professor of History at St. Paul's College, Calcutta, and circulated to the members of the Calcutta Missionary Conference. As a result of this pamphlet a resolution was passed by the Conference on October 5 regretting disquieting reports of the Chittagong Riots *and their effects on public opinion,* also asking for an "independent enquiry."

An attack was made on Ackroyd almost immediately in the *Statesman* of October 11 and in the London *Observer* of the following day. It is perhaps worth noting that the main case against Ackroyd was based on his alleged obstruction of the police in their duties. A student had been arrested at St. Paul's College on October 2 in a political dacoity case. When the police searched his room the following day, Ackroyd and Dr. Bridge (the College principal) challenged a policeman as to why he was carrying with him a piece of blood-stained cloth. *As the policeman was unable to explain this piece of cloth,* it was marked by the college authorities to the effect that it was not found among the student's possessions. For this "interference" the college authorities had been threatened with prosecution by the (British) Police Commissioner of Calcutta. The incident is instructive in understanding the meaning of "disloyalty" in India.

Ackroyd left India on November 19, his position having been made impossible by the *Statesman* and the European Association. St. Paul's College is dependent on a Government Grant.

The Chittagong affair came to the fore again on February 18, 1932, when in answer to questions in the Bengal Legislative Council Mr. W. D. R. Prentice admitted that two parties of military police, *each under a British officer,* visited two schools on August 31, 1931, as stated in the non-official report and that:

"Two boys of the Patiya School and eighteen of the Rahatali School were chastised. Boys of the higher classes at the Saroatali School were chastised. *No teacher appears to have been chastised.*"

Mr. Prentice made no attempt to explain or justify the amazing conduct of the military police, and in reply to a succession of further questions as to the nature of the chastisement, etc., merely replied: "I have nothing to add."

The other members of the Bengal Government seem to be of the same opinion as Mr. Prentice. *They have refused to publish the report of the official Committee on the Chittagong Disturbance,* as they say it is not of public interest. A further side-light on the Government's attitude toward information may be found in the following extract from the *Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance* (Clause 13 sub-clauses 1 and 2) which enforces the following provisions among others in the Chittagong District:

"No person shall communicate any information regarding the military and police forces. If any newspaper publishes any such information the owner, publisher, editor and printer of such newspaper shall be held liable for such publication."

The Secretary of the Indian Journalists Association enquired from the Government as to the exact application of this Ordinance. Might papers report clashes between the police and the public? Might they report injuries, arrests, searches, offences, quartering of troops or punitive police on towns or villages? The Chief Secretary of the Bengal Government (Mr. W. S. Hopkins) replied in a letter dated Calcutta, December 19, 1931, as follows:

"Government are not prepared to give a ruling on the cases referred to in your letter. . . . The Commissioner of the Chittagong Division has full authority to pass for publication any news items that he thinks fit and Government do not intend to interfere with his discretion in the matter.

"It is understood that the Commissioner has already made satisfactory arrangements for the release of news items for the press."

Like the Government he represents, this Commissioner is evidently to be his own law, his own judge, his own critic, and his own censor. We may rest assured that he will pass for publication such facts and such comments regarding his own regime "as he thinks fit."

One last point is worth noting. Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta is a well-known Indian barrister who was a member of the Non-Official Committee. During his stay in England this winter he was active in drawing attention to this affair, and I am indebted to his pamphlet *Chittagong and Hijli* for the Non-Official Committee's report. On his return to his country, Mr. Sen Gupta was arrested before he had even left the boat at Bombay. Admittedly he is only one out of about 1,000 people now lying in Indian jails without having enjoyed the formality of a trial. But are his connections with Chittagong and his exceptionally hasty arrest merely coincidental?

REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

Lewes, Sussex, England.

Both Lamb and We

Little lamb, born in the rain,
You try to stand, and bat your eyes,
Mercifully unaware of why
You came, that all your innocent woe
And helplessness shall come at last
Only to break the human fast!
Ah, little lamb, we do not know
But that the struggle, too, of man
May only fill the gaping maw
Of evolution's ruthless law,
And come to end where it began.

But neither knows he shall be lost
In such a useless pentecost,
And both are glad awhile to stay,
Each in his own appointed sphere,
To serve, and happily to play,
Where, in the eternal project, here
Or hereafter we find ourselves,
The trusting lamb, and groping we.
Not rain, not pain, nor human rage
Can rob us of our heritage,
Joyfully to live, and be.

JUNE CLEVENGER MILLER.

The Realism of Resentment

Realism is the order of the day. Ours is an age of science, which is the quest for reality in the field of natural phenomena. Ours is the age of historical criticism, which is realism in relation to human tradition, whether "sacred" or "profane." Ours is the age of democracy, which is realism in respect to human relations, birth, wealth, and station.

And here in America ours is also the age of Sinclair Lewis's "Main Street," and "Elmer Gantry," of Mencken's "American Mercury," of Paxton Hibben's "Henry Ward Beecher: An American Portrait," of Rupert Hughes "George Washington." This also is realism, but realism of another sort.

Of what sort it is probably we shall not all agree. That there are many who admire it is evident from the present popularity of it, a popularity which is, however, distinctly on the wane. The radicals, who fell for Mencken in a way little to their credit, are reacting from his evident superficialism. "Elmer Gantry" though a best seller, has greatly depreciated the literary reputation of its author, and is likely to be a Frankenstein with respect to his future fame. Henry Ward Beecher was in eclipse, as of our American Victorian age. Hibben resurrected him, with a ghoulish exhibit of grave-clothes and rotten wood, but the stature of the man will be only more evident when his skeleton is wholly exhumed and measured in the laboratories where clean men work. A more realistic realism, because motivated out of a more scientific spirit and working with more scientific method will yet replace the surface realism of our time.

It is too much to claim any single or simple explanation for all the phenomena of what Roosevelt would have called muck-raking criticism. Certainly it deserves the name more than did the more socially motivated criticism of public affairs to which the strenuous President, himself a doughty crusader against political corruption, applied the term. The criticism of our day is vastly more reminiscent of the muck-raking figure in John Bunyan's immortal allegory, who could see only the nastiness that was on the ground, than were the champions of clean cities and honest elections who showed up "The Shame of the Cities" or glorified "The Soldiers of the Common Good" a generation ago. These critics of our day have a cynicism with respect to reform, and a love of dirt for dirt's sake which removes them far from the liberal prophets of protest of yesterday.

Yet not by personal criticism of the critics, however much they may seem to deserve it, shall we arrive at an understanding of the poor quality of the realism of our time. The larger realism of tomorrow will carry far beyond the individuals concerned, and will illuminate the whole field of social causation out of which the sordid sensationalism of today is born. And in that day of fuller representation it is quite certain that resentment will be found to have played a very considerable part in the Menckenism, Gantryism, Hibbenism, and, indeed, in the whole cynical, superficial, and over-particular realism which is the mood of the hour.

It is certainly not without significance that the vogue of this scab-seeking realism here in the United States is coincident with the attack upon prohibition. Mencken and his *American Mercury,* are both first of all and most of all emphatically "wet." The note of chief conspicuousness in his philosophy and in the writings of those best known through his magazine is their loud-voiced contempt for the "up-lifters," wherein are included all who have preferred the social welfare to the anarchy of individual whim, either with respect to the indulgence of appetite or on behalf of pornographic art. Resentment at the churches for their effectiveness in suppressing a profiteering promotion of liquor drinking under the most mischievous social conditions, and the yet more horrible debauching of youth through the vending of obscene literature is back of the abundant supply of capital which seems to be available now for such portion of the press as will give itself to the war on prohibition. All phases of this resentment are played upon, even to the more or less honest indignation of those who are concerned with what they believe the break-down of respect for law as a consequence of an apparently impossible program of interference with personal habit. A campaign, such as has never been so organized and so capitalized before for depreciating the stock of public faith in moral idealism, especially as that idealism manifests and functions through the churches, is upon us, and the "bears" are operating by attacking at every point where they can hope to "break" public confidence.

Nor is the reign of resentment against the churches altogether without excuse, nor lacking of favor among the independent idealists outside of the churches who with respect to certain matters often function more self-sacrificingly and with farther vision than do church leaders and church bodies themselves. The part which the churches played in the World War has not contributed, nor could it be expected to contribute to the good standing of the churches with a multitude of the finest socially minded folks among us. From the standpoint of religious professionalism disappointment with the course of the churches admits of little complaint. Judged by their constitutions, statutes, and precepts alone, lovers of peace, and international goodwill, and the sanctities of life and liberty had a right to expect of the churches something quite different from the performance which prevailed. Resentment here is of quite different origin and character from the resentment which prevails where liquor and lewdness are involved. Yet the one adds to the other, and the latter explains even more emphatically and inescapably than the former the strength of the present attack upon organized Christianity the world over. The "Young Atheism" of our time is part of the "revolt of youth" against the misleadings of yesterday for which youth paid so heavy a toll.

But whatever may be said by way of defense of this higher resentment of our time against the defective righteousness of their elders of yesterday, and against the institutions through which that defective righteousness was expressed, there is want of a truly intelligent and well thought out realism in the complaint. Those who pin their faith to ideals, as abstractions somehow superior to life itself, may, indeed, rightfully complain that idealism failed them. But realists ought to recognize that ideals are no more independent of circumstance than are crops or climate. The churches were made up of men and women, not of disembodied

spirits, men and women involved in a web of material and social relations which might be broken through by an individual here and there, willing to suffer martyrdom for his non-conformity to environment, but hardly to be rebelled against on the broad field of social action until the slower movement of social consciousness had arrived through social adjustment at a larger awareness. Resentment may be excused. It may be in large part deserved. And even the over-emphasis of it may be serviceable as a corrective process. Nevertheless it is resentment, and not realism at its best, which is manifest today in the reaction against the churches and against religion as a whole in wide circles where a wiser and profounder realism ought to more prevail.

In the field of political biography the same forces are obviously at work as those which are at work to the detraction of the church and its ministry. On the one hand is a thinly disguised espousal of self-indulgence, and resentment at moral restraint, on the other a serious and often high-minded protest against the failure of patriotism to make good. The newer presentation of George Washington, for instance, is a compound of the effort to reconcile the conduct of the Father of His Country with the moral flippancies of filmdom and the far better purpose of securing a saner and more balanced patriotism. From both points of view there is a valuable revealing of much hitherto undiscovered or not sufficiently recognized fact. Yet in neither instance is the realism altogether free of resentment, nor is the real issue of Washington's extraordinary career made clear, so that we may understand in terms of present-day social utility how it happened that the richest American of his day, one who was temperamentally hardly more revolutionary than Mr. Coolidge himself, became the so-effective leader of an unusually extensive and successful revolt. In comparison with this problem no minutiae of either the hero-worshippers or the scandal-mongers is of any considerable importance. Yet in such an inquiry resentment has no part.

Almost all of our American realism, whether it comes from the pens of conservative coteries in our city centers who resent the American country-side, Lyman Beecher's Connecticut, Henry Ward Beecher's Indiana, or Sinclair Lewis's Middle West, or whether it proceeds from serious social protest and a high social idealism, stirred to resentment by a Pharasaic Hundred Per Centism, or a plutocratic exploitation of the common people under the guise of national prosperity, is yet lacking in dispassionate scientific inquiry and verifiable understanding of the actual processes of American life.

And because they share this ignorance, if not indifference, to a well-studied and scientifically modulated realism the churches are themselves to blame to a great degree for the shallowness of the contemporary criticism from which they suffer. They have not led the way and are not leading the way to an understanding as against a merely complaining or contemptuous criticism. Most ministers are too content to wait the witness of social castrophe to the blindness of the religious minded in their own generation, rather than to demonstrate the intellectual awareness and moral courage required for competency in meeting the materialists who have gone deeply into social science. Even when ministers essay the prophetic part they react more emotionally than scientifically, blundering into incidental and personal criticism which makes for unnecessary antagonisms. They are in their own way as captious oftentimes as the Menckens, Lewises, and Hibbens, knowing no more, nor caring to know more with a carefulness that counts, than do the apostles of anti-religious resentments. In the whole area of American life this superficialism of resentment prevails to a calamitous extent. More elections are lost by waves of disgust against the incumbents in office than are won by serious appreciation of well attested public service. We are pettish children, who do not know what we want, except that it is something we do not have, or a chance to strike at someone who is in our way. A Christian realism is the supreme call of the hour, yet even the call for it is hardly heard, or where heard hardly understood. We may expect to be the victims of popular pettishness in magazine, and novel, and biography, in politics and in legislation, until the professed believers in the great I AM give themselves to understand the actualities of his dealings with mankind.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

My Visit to Tolstoy*

I called on Tolstoy at his place, Isnaya Polyana, near Toula, in the autumn of 1889, and had two most interesting talks with him. Among the things I remember were the following:

I said something about Emerson, and he said: "Ah, he was a great man." He put his hands at the sides of his face like blinders on a horse and said: "He had not those English blinders; he could see a truth wherever it was."

I spoke of Emerson's experiment of having the cook sit with the family at meals until the cook revolted. He stopped, I think, in the road as we were walking and said: "Perhaps it will seem a strange thing to say, but that was the greatest thing he did."

I told him that I wanted to learn to write, and he said: "How do you mean, learn to write?" He said: "I have been a great—and a great—what you call quiddle, and fussed a great deal over my writing, but it is all useless. I write now simply as comes into my mind, and I write as well." He said: "You cannot write until you want to write. When you want to write, you must say, not yet, not yet, until at last you *have* to write. *Then* you can write." (It may be needless to add that I have never reached that point.) He added: "What you write is not so important. It is how you live that will have any effect."

When I spoke about my desire to do things he said: "Why do things? What things? What good do they do?" "Well," I said, "it was a good thing, for instance, to have roads." He said: "Why have roads? That is not the thing." Later: "You spoke of doing things. I know a man. He is a monk. He is paralyzed, he lies always on his back. He can move one hand a little (illustrating). When I go to see him he always has a smile. He always speaks to everyone of the happiness of his life. That man has done more in his life than any man I know."

I asked him how many followers he had. He said: "Well," and began counting on his fingers. Finally he said: "I think I have nine." Then he got talking

*This article is written from memory of the visit and from full notes made at the time.—J. L.

about them. One was a colonel in the army. He was in the Turkish War, where "one day he killed a man. That evening they had a banquet for him and they all congratulated him because he had killed a man. Then they went away, but he could not sleep. He did not sleep all night, thinking of that man he had killed. In the morning he went to the general and said: 'I cannot be a soldier,' and he left the army. He is one of my followers."

He said: "You know I don't believe in the use of money. When anybody asks me for something, I give it to him. When I go to see some of my friends (he was speaking of his peasant neighbors), they give me a glass of tea. I take it." He added a little later: "You know, they say you should not drink from the peasant's glass, as many of them have syphilis. But I always drink what they hand me."

He said at another time: "How can you think I talk as I do and live as I do and can be an honest man?" I said: "Because you are married." He said: "Yes." My explanation merely meant—and I am sure it is what he meant when he said Yes—that having as a rich man married a wife, he could not very well in justice to her suddenly propose that they should go without money and the conveniences, including things to eat, that it can buy.

I had dinner with the family. The Countess Tolstoy was there and one of the daughters and one or two others, including an English governess. They seemed a happy family.

Tolstoy gave me a letter to a professor of political economy at the University of Moscow, who lived up in a little apartment at the top of a building. He introduced me to his wife, who said at once: "Oh, you are from Boston. How are Mrs. Shaw's kindergartens getting along?" They were very pleasant and told me a good deal about Tolstoy, and sent me around with a pleasant young woman, a school teacher friend of theirs, to visit two or three other people in Moscow. One was a poet, whom I found in a bare room with his watch hung up on a tack in the wall as a clock. He was clad in a blue and white checked shirt, a "jumper" such as our workmen used to wear, a pair of old trousers and some carpet slippers. He was very intelligent and interesting. I asked him how he explained Tolstoy, not as an analysis of him but how he explained him as a phenomenon. He said: "Oh, he is a common type in Russia—what I call the repentant noble." (I conversed with him through the young school mistress.) He said, "The nobles used to have great power; now they have practically none, and many of them have turned to repentance. It is a Russian trait, not at all new or uncommon with us." He added (or perhaps the professor told me): "I have given you the favorable side of Tolstoy; to see the other side you should see so and so."

Professor So. and So's criticism consisted chiefly in pointing out the obvious inconsistencies between speaking against money and having a lot of it.

Toystoy was at that time about sixty years old. (I find from the Encyclopedia he was 61.) He walked strongly and apparently inexhaustibly and went up stairs two steps at a time. Of course he was an extraordinarily interesting looking man, more so even than his pictures show. He was simple and sincere in everything he said.

JOSEPH LEE.

Trumpets on New Horizons

To commemorate recent events in a certain Far-Eastern land, additional stanzas seem called for, to bring Mr. Kipling's poem of 1899, "The White Man's Burden," up to date. While waiting for his new verses, might the following serve as a suggestion?—

"The White Man's Burden"

Take up the White Man's burden,
Of golden revenue
From opium, salt, and liquor,
Or crush the brown-skinned crew
That dare obstruct our profits;
And should the slaves annoy,
Then jail the spin-wheel leader,
And lash the little boy.

Take up the White Man's burden
Of lathis, guns, and lead;
Peshawar sets our model,
So fear no pools of red.
Let not the women pickets
Our charging ranks dismay,
And yet,—what whispered warning
From Yorktown,—to Bombay!

ELIOT WHITE.

Gandhi

Yon little withered citron of a man
With hands so busied at the spinning wheel,
Has builded in his mind and soul a plan
To free his people from oppression's heel.
The princes tremble on their jewelled thrones;
Hope kindles in a million peasant eyes;
While Gandhi hears the centuries of sighs and moans
The peasants have poured nightly to the skies.

He goes to council with the world's great powers,
Garbed in the peasant cloth men deem a joke.
While princes while away luxurious hours,
Lean Gandhi spins, and thinks of peasant folk.
He goes, the servant of his people, symbolized by wheel and goats,
To voice the protest silenced in a million peasant throats.

ELIZABETH LA DOW.

War

Spare us war's iron, red from fires of hate,
That brands the quivering, bared souls of men
So often scarred they cannot heal again,
Yet driven, dumb, to slaughter, while we prate
Of sacrifice, of courage, and of fate!
Behold the progeny of war's vile den:
Distrust, disease, dismay, disgrace, and then
Ask why a man should enter that foul gate.

The animal knows only eye for eye.
Shall man continue beast, to rend and tear
The weaker beast that falls into his hand?
If we must conquer, let our strength defy
This monster, war, and make a thoroughfare
Where we may walk, like gods, to All-Men's-Land.

ELINOR LENNEN.

Marxian

Let all beware who live by others' toil,
The sun is waning on their final day;
No more shall greed around the many coil
Nor blinded robbers lug the wealth away:
To all who will belongs this pregnant soil,
To love, to work, to follow as one may,
But not to mar, to hoard or gather spoil,
There is no place for those who plot and slay.

All toil be governed by its use and need
In surplus value brews the world's dismay,
Through it the real creators want and bleed,
Through it the idle strut in proud array;
But reason's might from here on takes the lead
And they who do the work shall have the say.

JACK GREENBERG.

The Study Table

New Books

A preface by Edgar L. Hewett, a reading of the manuscript by C. C. Willoughby, suggestion and reading by F. W. Hodge, instruction by Edward W. Gifford—all of which are acknowledged by the author, prepare us for a serious contribution to American anthropology in this little book by Emma Franklin Estabrook. Our reasonable anticipation is hardly realized in the work itself. Nor do we see that the book meets the expectation aroused by its title and sub-title, "Givers of Life, American Indians as Contributors to Civilization."[1] It is a pretty book, dealing in friendly and sympathetic fashion with American Indians—chiefly Pueblos. It is a series of agreeably written essays, worth the reading. We do not see that it clearly states what contribution the Indian has made to civilization apart from the well known list of vegetable products—"kidney and lima beans, squashes, pumpkins, peppers and the 'Jerusalem' artichoke" (let us add maize, tobacco, potatoes, cassava, chocolate and cotton for good measure). We do not object to the dedication of the book "To the American Indian, One of the Creative Races of Men"—but what *race* of men has not been creative? What *race* of men has not made some contribution to civilization? The Pueblo Lawmaker is interesting, admirable, but has his law actually contributed to civilization? The Pueblo Artist and Inventor deserves high praise, but his actual contribution to civilization has been negligible. We might go through the list of essays, in the same skeptical spirit. "Givers of Life" seems quite specific: in what sense can the Pueblo Indians be said to be givers of life to anyone? Years ago George Wharton James wrote a book on "What the White Man Owes to the Indian." He was far more specific than is our present author. We are much interested in one feature of this book. Emma Franklin Estabrook is soaked through and through with Lewis H. Morgan. Can this be allowed, Messrs. Willoughby, Hodge and Gifford? We understood that Morgan and all his heresies were dead, cremated, buried! Of course, we shall never go back to Morgan *in toto,* but no doubt we shall find it convenient to quote him from time to time. In view of our author's penchant for Morgan, she says little of Bandelier. We think she does not even mention Lummis. Yet he, too, knew the Pueblos.

There is little for the reviewer to say about a "reading guide." It is hardly literature. It carries no argument. It lends itself badly to quotation. The one before us, dealing with Buddhism, is by a Professor of Eastern Philosophy in a College of Missions.[2] Naturally and necessarily it starts with a bias. The reader to be directed is after all studying an alien and pagan religion. He is not studying something that is to him sacred and of essential wisdom, nor a way of salvation. But the subject is dealt with with sympathy and fairness. As suggested by the title there are four parts: I. *In India: Emergence and Reabsorption,* II. *In Ceylon: Conservation of the Hinayana,* III. *In China: Mahayana in its Full Development,* IV. *In Japan: the Topmost Turn.* Our author's analysis is keen; his synthesis, adequate. References are given under each section and here, after the fashion of the day, minute directions are given as to what pages shall be read, and a word of judgment regarding the recommended passages, to prevent the student from straying. In addition to the references, which must be read, lists of *sources* are given. An especial feature is found in the biographical references—almost all the names prominent in the development of Buddhism are emphasized and aids are given to the finding of further data. This reading guide can be heartily recommended.

We are in a day of pre-digested instruction. If we felt some little hostility to the reading guide just mentioned it was to the amount of pre-digestion it showed. Just now this marks every grade of teaching from the professional school down. The book before me, "Directed High School History Study,"[3] is an admirable book. It will no doubt well serve its purpose. Why then am I kicking? I am not kicking. The book is a piece of exceptionally conscientious work. Rarely do we find teachers so bound to do their whole duty to their pupils. We have pre-digestion at every point. The *references* are predigested—"read pp. 119-21." Will the students of tomorrow ever read a book from cover to cover? Will they be helpless when seeking material in a new book without *direction?* The *exercises* are pre-digested: "What important mineral did the Hittites give to the ancient world?" No scattering reply is likely. The *review* is predigested; uncompleted statements have gaps, left for filling, with an allowance of 6⅔% perhaps on the "score" for each fill. The *maps* are pre-digested; the student will mark in just what is called for. He might like to fill in something else, but he must not be allowed to run wild. And the teacher's work of *judging and marking* is pre-digested; it is easy to sum up the score. And now, having vented my spleen at a system and a tendency, let me say again that the book is good. The high school boy who goes through it faithfully will know more history than we learned in high school. This *Book One* goes from Prehistoric Times to the European Monarchies just before the French Revolution. The material is treated under eight major topics. The book may be used with any text-book or itself as a text-book. The required readings (references) are carefully selected and indicated. *Exercises* and *reviews* are ample. A generous list of *general readings* is given, where direction is largely lacking and the student may browse or fill himself at will. The *map exercises* are numerous and worth while. The *illustrations* are many and suitable. The boy who fills out this book creditably has a volume which he will place upon his bookshelf, consult from time to time, and point to with pride. Well! What more could you ask?

FREDERICK STARR.

Note

The Editor of UNITY is one of the subjects treated in "Adventurous Americans," a new book edited by Devere Allen. Other persons treated are Jane Addams, Oswald Garrison Villard, Norman Thomas, W. E. B. Du Bois, John Dewey, Roger Baldwin, Bishop Paul Jones, Sherwood Eddy, and Scott Nearing. This book will be reviewed in these columns.

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1. "Givers of Life. American Indians as Contributors to Civilization." Emma Franklin Estabrook. Albuquerque: 1931. University of New Mexico Press. 16 mo. pp. 101.

2. "Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China and Japan." A Reading Guide. Clarence H. Hamilton. Chicago: 1931. University of Chicago Press. 16 mo. pp. viii. 107. Price, $1.00.

3. "Directed High School History Study. Book One." Alice Magenis and Madeline F. Gilmour. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1932. World Book Co. Lg. 8 vo. pp. iv. 188. Price, $0.80.

Correspondence

Edward Bellamy

Editor of UNITY:

About three months ago a few business and professional men of Bellingham, Wash., realizing that the collapse of the present economic order had started in earnest, came together to study the situation. They agreed that it was up to the great American middle class to wake up and work actively and constructively towards a new and better economic system as the only means to prevent complete chaos. To achieve this in the best possible way they decided to form a small club to study the philosophy and the teachings of Edward Bellamy.

This prophetic author in his books, "Looking Backwards," published 1887, and "Equality," published 1897, recognized clearly the many shortcomings and inherent faults of the capitalistic order, its utter wastefulness with human and material resources and the absolute necessity of its final breaking up by the weight of its own cruel inefficiency. Any intelligent observer who does not make himself intentionally blind can plainly see this process of disintegration in full swing, not only in the U. S. A., but all over the world.

Edward Bellamy in his writings worked out in detail a new, just, rational and humane system of economics, apparently flawless and—quite in contrast with the prevailing order—in full harmony with the teachings of Christianity.

The study of this economic system and the whole philosophy of Bellamy was taken up by this small group. After only a few meetings the meeting place was found too small. Larger quarters were necessary and the club had to move to larger and larger halls, till at the last few meetings the largest available auditorium with a capacity of close to two thousand was packed full, an overflow of several hundred had to be turned away and many hundreds in the surrounding country, farmers and others, were listening in over the radio. At the rate of growth observed so far the club will have to resort to open air meetings as soon as the weather permits and accommodate crowds of 10,000 or more.

The beauty of this movement is that it can and has been joined by men and women in all walks of life, by people of all and any religious beliefs, by preachers and atheists, laborers, farmers, teachers, shopkeepers, professional men and even capitalists. It proposes to work towards its goal by *peaceful and lawful means only,* and bring into existence a new economic order "with good will towards all, with malice towards none," without class hatred and class contrasts, an order in which everybody is allowed to turn over a new leaf and the cruelties and suppressions of the old system are forgiven and forgotten.

We understand that similar movements have sprung up spontaneously in other parts of the country and that the formation of a national organization is close at hand.

To all progressively minded men and women all through the country our advice is: Get hold of Bellamy's books, study them, get a few others interested and start the movement in your locality. It will grow anywhere just as it grew in the city of Bellingham and in other places. If any problems should arise in your early days the "Economic Equality Club of Bellingham, Wash.," will gladly help you.

ARTHUR HEINEMANN.

Bellingham, Washington.

The Educators Step Out for Peace

Editor of UNITY:

It will interest friends of the new idea of world citizenship and of international peace as the indispensable basis of modern civilization to learn that at least some of the world's most noted educators are awakening to the responsibility that should long ago have been theirs of consciously endeavoring to develop a generation of youth possessing, in addition to a civilized patriotism, at least the elements of "the international mind," capable of loyalty to a larger conception and a longer range of vision and duty than the "sovereign" nation and its sordid politics glossed by sentimentalism. It is in a greater competence of knowledge, as well as in a resolute conviction, or faith, that peace with justice is always possible, given good-will and intellectual courage, upon which the hope of building a civilization satisfying to the civilized human spirit out of the embittered confusions of the contemporary world finally rests.

In order to define these objectives and to discuss the best methods of approaching them, there is to be held this summer in the beautiful city of Nice, France, under very distinguished auspices, a world conference of students and workers in the field of education (August 1st-12th). Such is to be the sixth international (biennial) conference of the New Education Fellowship (of Great Britain) with which are affiliated the Progressive Education Association of the United States, and a large number of other educational agencies throughout the world (even China and India being represented). Delegations of teachers and others interested from Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Toronto and other American and Canadian cities are in preparation. To encourage the largest possible participation, most interesting pre-Conference tours have been worked out, offering at minimum expense (approximately five hundred dollars) the opportunity to visit the most famous secondary schools and universities of England, Belgium, Germany and Switzerland, during forty days prior to the opening of the Nice Conference. These parties will sail under expert leadership about June 15th.

Members will be recipients of delightful hospitality in England, will visit Eton, Harrow and Cambridge, besides numerous progressive secondary schools in and near London; they will have opportunity to see the remarkable experimental schools of Hamburg, and other out-of-door summer schools in Germany, and to study the great educational exhibits gathered from all Europe in the citadel at Mainz, on the Rhine. Some of them will be invited to a sojourn in the 16th Century castle of Siebeneichen, near Meissen on the Elbe, where an interesting school of international studies and modern languages, with emphasis upon the life and problems of the peoples of Central Europe, is about to open under the guidance of the Baroness von Miltitz, a recent visitor to New York and Chicago. Some days will be passed in Geneva, seat of the League of Nations and numerous educational institutions; and the Chicago party will "negotiate" the Alps in special motor-busses on the scenic route through Savoy and Dauphine to Nice.

Persons qualified and interested are invited to communicate with the Secretary, Chicago Committee for the Nice Conference, Box 456, Ravinia, Illinois; or with the American Committee on International Education, 425 West 123rd Street, New York City.

BRENT DOW ALLINSON.

Chicago, Illinois.

News from India

[This paragraph is taken from a personal letter received by the Editor from a friend in India.]

". . . The situation in India is getting worse. The government has employed a very terrible weapon—they are fining the civil resisters heavily and thus gathering money to finance the administration. For a breach of parole a Congressman of Bombay was fined five thousand rupees, while another in Ahmedabad was fined two thousand five hundred rupees; and in spite of the accused preferring prisons, they had their goods or money attached or sold at auction. Thus the economic aspect of the struggle is being crushed and killed."

S.

Boycott British Goods

Editor of UNITY:

By chance I saw a copy of your paper and was interested to read (Jan. 25th) your appeal to the American people to support Mahatmaji and his people. Your suggestions as to ways of so doing are interesting but why not be more concrete and more effective by starting a really strong movement for the boycott of British goods in America? It would help home industry and impress the British more than letters or cables at which they only laugh.

If you could realize the situation in India you would know that the British have gone beyond the point where decent behavior can be expected and that only the force of boycott can prick their skins.

AN AMERICAN IN INDIA.

February 13, 1932.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 130)

and Ralph Cheyney of Philadelphia, they state that a poll, which they have been conducting for the past half year, reveals that there is a powerful demand for the pardon of Tom Mooney among "leading novelists, dramatists, scientists, educators, clergymen and formulators of public opinion throughout the world."

"Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, Prof. John Dewey, Stefan Zweig, President Mary E. Woolley, Dr. Ira S. Wile, Prof. William Ellery Leonard, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Rev. Gross W. Alexander, Will Durant, Clement Wood, Havelock Ellis, Dr. Kirby Page, Rev. Eliot White, Dr. Paul Hutchinson, Count Karolyi and Ernst Toller are only a few of the world-famous figures who have put themselves definitely on record," states Lucia Trent, chairman of the Artists' and Writers' Committee for Tom Mooney, "as favoring the unconditional pardon of Tom Mooney."

"The many distinguished editors who have written expressing their advocacy of Mooney's release," reports the chairman, "prove the power of the sentiment in his favor." Among the periodicals, editors of which urge that Mooney be freed, are the *American Mercury*, the *Christian Century*, the *World Tomorrow*, the *Modern Quarterly*, UNITY, the *Arbitrator*, *Contemporary Vision*, and *Poetry World*, not to mention the labor press. The religious, literary, and general press are represented strongly by those who demand Mooney's freedom."

"Your continued confinement in prison is one of the most horrible examples of the depravity of American justice that I know," runs a letter from V. F. Calverton, editor of the *Modern Quarterly*.

"A society which will resort to the deliberate ferocity which has been exercised in your case is a society under doom of its own spiritual disintegration," writes Dr. Paul Hutchinson, managing editor of the *Christian Century*.

Prof. William Ellery Leonard, famous scholar and poet and professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., states in a letter, "Whether you are to die in jail or to die a free man still fighting for human freedom, you remain a Power for the Future."

Ernst Toller cabled from Berlin, "Convinced of Tom's innocence. Hope you finally find justice. Thousands in Europe fighting on your behalf."

Stefan Zweig, famous German dramatist, writes from Vienna, "I wish to express the fact that we stand with these men (Mooney and Billings) with heart and soul."

These are only samples of the hundreds of such letters received by the Writers' and Artists' Committee, according to Miss Trent.

The following writers and poets have gone on record on behalf of an unconditional pardon for Tom Mooney: Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, Edna Ferber, Rupert Hughes, Fannie Hurst, Carl Sandburg, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Upton Sinclair, H. L. Mencken, John Erskine, Elmer Rice, Will Ervine, John Dos Passos, Lucia Trent, Ralph Cheyney, Eugene O'Neil, Zona Gale, Theodore Dreiser, C. E. S. Wood, Jim Tully, Charlotte Gilman, Edwin Markham, Jack Conroy, Lincoln Steffens, Dorothy Canfield Fisher and I. J. Golden, author of the sensational drama "Precedent," based on the Mooney case.

Many prominent American officials have, either by spoken or written word, taken a stand for the unconditional pardon of Mooney. These include the following: United States Senators Bronson Cutting, N. Mex., Edw. P. Costigan, Colo., Thomas J. Walsh, Mont., David I. Walsh, Mass., Burton K. Wheeler, Mont., Gerald P. Nye, N. Dak., Robert LaFollette, Wis., Lynn J. Frazier, N. Dak., Thos. D. Schall, Minn., Robert F. Wagner, N. Y., John J. Blaine, Wis., Royal S. Copeland, N. Y.; United States Representatives William I. Sirovich, N. Y., Harold Knutson, Minn., James M. Mead, N. Y., Thomas H. Cullen, N. Y., Henry T. Rainey, Ill., Francis B. Condon, R. I., Leonard Schuetz, Ill., Fiorello LaGuardia, N. Y., Charles A. Kading, Wis.; Governors Robert Burns of Oklahoma, Wilbur L. Cross of Connecticut, George W. P. Hunt of Arizona, Phillip LaFollette of Wisconsin, Floyd B. Olson of Minnesota; and Mayors John W. Murphy of New Haven, R. E. Sherman of El Paso, C. J. Blinn of Oklahoma City, Richard L. Metcalf of Omaha, Wm. J. Swoboda of Racine, Joseph L. Hefferman of Youngstown, Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee, James J. Walker of New York, William A. Anderson of Minneapolis, James E. Dunne of Providence, William J. Rankin of Hartford, and Mortimer A. Sullivan of Newport.

Both houses of the Legislatures of Rhode Island and Wisconsin passed resolutions in favor of a pardon for Mooney, and two resolutions for pardon were introduced in the United States Congress. The Wickersham Report on the Mooney case, after being withheld for nine months, was finally brought to light as a result of the passing of a Senate resolution. The gist of this report was published in newspapers all over the world, and the entire report was run in serial form by the Scripps-Howard papers.

The entire law faculty of the University of Oregon, fourteen college professors of the University of California at Berkeley, and other noted educators from colleges all over the country, have expressed themselves in favor of Mooney's pardon.

Moving picture people who have acted on behalf of Mooney's pardon are Charles Chaplin, Erich von Stroheim, James Cruze, Katherine Cornell, Charles Brabin, Theda Bara, Rob Wagner, Zoe Atkins and other leaders in the moving picture, literary and artistic circles of Hollywood.

Songs have been written and volumes of poetry have been dedicated to Mooney, and as Max Stern, Washington correspondent United Press, has stated: "The persecution of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings by California has inspired sermons, speeches, resolutions, plays and editorials by the hundred."

It would be impossible in reviewing champions for Mooney's pardon to omit the names of Judge Franklin A. Griffin, trial judge in the Mooney case, and Fremont Older, editor of the *Call-Bulletin* of San Francisco. These names are so well known in connection with the fight for Mooney's pardon that they need no mention.

The first Mooney demonstration in Denmark was recently held in Vissinghus, Vejle, under the auspices of the Workers Educational Society of Vejle, on January 19th.

Demonstrations were held in other European cities on February 24, the anniversary of Mooney's death sentence, which has been designated as National Mooney Day. Hundreds of meetings, attended by hundreds of thousands of workers demanding a pardon for Mooney, were held in the United States on that day.

"Mother" Mary Mooney, Tom's 84 year old mother, is now touring the United States on behalf of her son's pardon. She appeared at a huge pardon Mooney demonstration at the Coliseum in Chicago on March 18th.

In response to Mooney's appeal for a boycott of California products and the Olympic games (to be held in Los Angeles next July), the boycott movement has spread widely. Thousands of persons have signed cards pledging themselves not to purchase California products as long as Mooney remains in prison. Resolutions to boycott California products have been passed throughout the country.

An International Workers' Athletic Meet, as a counter-Olympic attraction will be held in Chicago on July 29, 30, 31, and August 1. Labor sport clubs and other amateur athletic organizations, from at least a dozen different countries, will participate.

Tom Mooney is honorary chairman of the National Counter-Olympic Committee, which is organizing the International Workers' Athletic Meet. The headquarters of this organization is at 799 Broadway, New York City.

A brochure on the Mooney case is being prepared by Miss Lucia Trent, who, with Ralph Cheyney, edits "Contemporary Vision," a magazine of poetry published in Philadelphia. The brochure will contain a comprehensive list of persons, famous in the art, literary and scientific world, who have expressed their belief in Mooney's innocence, and have taken a stand on behalf of his unconditional pardon.

TOM MOONEY'S MOLDERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE.
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The Progressive, Dept. B., Madison, Wis.

An Intelligent America

READERS OF UNITY will remember that about a year ago there was published in this journal a full page advertisement calling for a campaign on behalf of a larger subscription list. Apparently the campaign ceased with that single appeal.

"NEVER EXPLAIN," was, in substance, the advice of a great American philosopher. The advice is not to be taken too literally. But in this instance we prefer to follow the example of Oliver Wendell Holmes, who after many years of silence on the part of the Breakfast Table Philosopher resumed with the remark: "As we were saying————."

OUR PROGRAM, however, has widened with the year of meditation and experiment. It is indicated, briefly, below.

AMERICA, AND IN PARTICULAR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, holds a strategic place in world affairs today. This does not need to be argued, or expanded here.

AN INTELLIGENT AMERICA is a primary and fundamental world need. How can we work best toward that end?

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, which gave us our independence from England, was put over in its initial stages, 1763-1775, through CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEES, and the printed page. THE CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEES acted as a kind of CLEARING HOUSE for exchange of information and stimulation, and were the prelude out of which came the UNION later.

FOR TEN YEARS I have been touring the Pacific Coast, and carrying on, individually and collectively, world studies, toward the end of securing a greater coordination here among men and women of open mind and progressive principles.

AN EXPANDING GROUP OF US, acting under the name of THE INTELLIGENT AMERICA FELLOWSHIP, are seeking now to enlist others at large in the same enterprise.

WE PROPOSE NO FORMAL MEMBERSHIP, NO DUES, NO INSTITUTIONAL EMPHASIS. In a few words we can define the lines of cooperation in which we seek your fellowship.

FIRST; we are asking whoever gets this message to accept as a definite objective of their own thought and effort, A MORE INTELLIGENT AMERICA.

TO THIS END, we suggest a systematic devotion of a settled portion of your time to these two specific ends: (1) An acquaintance with the world-setting in which human experience is worked out. **By this is intended such a study of maps, and auxiliary helps, as will enable you to visualize the world as a whole, and to hold in mind the outstanding features of any and every country in the world.** India's problem, for instance, is illuminated marvellously when one studies the situation in which India lies, **under the southern eaves of the roof of the world,** and **the meaning of mountains** in such a situation. Japan's geography and geology have played havoc with the sentimentalisms of platitudinous peace propaganda. WE MUST UNDERSTAND THE WORLD TO LEAD THE WORLD TOWARD UNITY AND PEACE. Will you join us in a WORLD WIDE STUDY OF THE SETTING OF PHYSICAL CIRCUMSTANCE IN WHICH HUMAN INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED? We will gladly aid you with whatever suggestions we can give.

FURTHERMORE, AND TOWARD THE SAME END, we suggest a systematic devotion of at least a few minutes a day, on the average, to (2) an acquaintance with THE MAIN OUTLINES OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE, that is, the major currents of human history.

OUR SLOGAN IS, with no impeachment of whatever belongs to the sub-structure or superstructure of human existence, that WE ARE WHAT WE ARE BECAUSE WE ARE WHERE WE ARE, AND WHEN WE ARE.

WE ARE WHAT WE ARE BECAUSE WE ARE WHERE WE ARE. If you were in JAPAN, instead of in the UNITED STATES, your reactions would be conditioned very considerably by that fact. How considerably most of us fail to realize, BECAUSE WE KNOW NEITHER JAPAN NOR THE UNITED STATES AS WE SHOULD.

WE ARE WHAT WE ARE BECAUSE WE ARE WHEN WE ARE. The PROCESS OF HISTORY is as imperative a fact as the SETTING OF HISTORY. The Americans of the Eighteenth Century were not involved as are the Americans of the Twentieth Century.

THUS ENDETH THE FIRST LESSON. If there is enough interest we are going to continue these lessons in UNITY, now and then. I have no secretary, and no money to engage one. Our group is made up of folks likewise limited in means, time, and strength. Nevertheless we will be glad to have a shower of letters. If you want an individual reply send us a stamped and addressed envelope, and any other contribution you may wish to make toward clerical work. We are hiring no offices, paying no salaries, seeking no profits. But we would like to expand this appeal. Moreover we would like to make UNITY the medium for a WORLD CONTACT, and especially for THE COORDINATION OF EFFORT TOWARD AN INTELLIGENT AMERICA on the part of any and all who will work with us to that end.

For further information address me at our new residence, as follows: Robert Whitaker, 1016 West 106th Street, Los Angeles, California.

Yours for AN INTELLIGENT AMERICA.